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The Shape of Things

IT TAKES AN OCCASIONAL ANNIVERSARY TO drive home the swiftness with which history is being written in these days of war and change. Three years ago Americans spent a noisy Fourth of July on the beaches and the highways. The only kind of independence that seemed to matter was independence from what was contemptuously called "foreign entanglements." We were sorry, even indignant, about the fate of Prague, but only "fanatics" saw in its tragedy a forecast of what was to come. The Fourth in 1940 was grimmer. Paris had fallen, and London's capitulation looked like a matter of weeks. But we were still independent; it was not our fight. Last Fourth Moscow seemed doomed, and the breath of the dragon was hot enough to be felt even across those 3,000 miles of ocean on which isolationists predicated our independence. Still Senator Wheeler could say, "Now we can just let Joe Stalin and the other dictators fight it out." This Fourth all that is ages in the past. Our beaches have become landing places for Nazi saboteurs, our highways are almost empty, and our fighting men are scattered from Melbourne to Belfast. In a year America has come to understand that only through the interdependence of all nations can there be independence for any.

*

PIERRE LAVAL HAS OPENLY EXPRESSED HIS hopes for a German victory and his conviction that France must integrate itself in the Nazi New Order or see its civilization disappear. Marshal Pétain, as we have noted previously, has put his complete confidence in Laval on record. Our State Department, however, still appears to have confidence in Pétain, although Secretary Hull last week restated his belief that Laval was intent on delivering France to Hitler. Nevertheless, we are resuming supplies to French North Africa, we continue official relations with a government headed by a man whom our Secretary of State acknowledges to be a German puppet, and our cold shoulder is still turned toward the Free French who are fighting and dying on our side. Is there some method in this madness? We fail to see it unless there is lurking within the State Department the same fear that Laval expressed in his speech—the fear that German defeat will mean a Europe overrun

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by bolshevism. Men beset by such a horrid vision of the future might argue that it would be wise to maintain a reactionary government in France as a bulwark against the spread of this disease, even though it was a government in league with our enemies. Yet such a policy would be the most cynical betrayal of the people to whom we have repeatedly promised deliverance. They know where Vichy stands, and the vast majority of them are working to prevent it from realizing its aims. Nor has their resistance been ineffective. Laval himself acknowledged that when he said to the people of France: "I can do nothing without you." But how are we to encourage the French to refuse their support to Laval while we countenance the government of which he is the chief?

✶

THE CHINESE STRUCK BACK SAVAGELY AT the Japanese last week. Linhsien, an important Japanese base in northern Honan, was recaptured in a brilliant counter-stroke that ended a Japanese offensive in that area. Japanese casualties are estimated at 5,500 in this one section alone over a thirteen-day period. Another Japanese army is reported to be isolated near Liuho, 110 miles north of Hankow. The most encouraging development of all was the appearance of the newly trained Chinese air force, which beat off, for the first time, an air raid on the Hunan rail center of Hengyang, and a few days later sank two Japanese gunboats in the Yangtze eighty-five miles below Hankow. Good news also was the reported arrival of a group of American army fliers in Chungking. Offsetting the good news is confirmation from Chungking of Japanese claims of having seized Lishui and Kweiki, the last two important air bases in the Chekiang-Kiangsi area available for attacks on Japan. However, the main Japanese column pushing westward in this drive has been bogged down at Shangjao for nearly two weeks, and Chinese resistance seems stronger than at any time in recent months.

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THE SINKING OF A SECOND ARGENTINE SHIP and the resignation of President Ortiz combined to create a political near crisis in Buenos Aires last week. Popular resentment against the second sinking, which came only a few days after the controversy over the first had been settled, forced Acting President Castillo to forward an unusually stern protest to Berlin. The Chamber of Deputies adopted a resolution insisting that Foreign Minister Guiñazú appear before it on July 2 to explain why diplomatic relations with the Axis have not been broken. A powerful movement is under way to reject President Ortiz's resignation as a rebuke to Castillo. Anti-Axis feeling in Argentina has been accentuated by German threats of "reprisals" against Brazil for the alleged mistreatment of German nationals. In view of this situation there is a possibility that Castillo may make one of his apparent concessions by dropping his discredited pro-Axis Foreign Minister, Enrique Ruiz Guiñazú, and seek a successor more palatable to the United States. A break with the Axis seems unlikely, however, as long as Castillo is President.

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BY ELIMINATING MANDATORY JOINT TAX returns in a last-minute action the House Ways and Means Committee not only knocked off another $420,000,000 from a much-depleted tax bill but killed a reform which the Treasury had long hoped to see enacted. The present system of optional separate returns clearly violates the principles of progressive taxation, since in cases where income is more or less evenly divided between husband and wife it makes possible a considerable reduction in the total burden on the family. This is particularly so in the "community-property" states, where half the income of either partner is automatically credited to the other. Consequently a married California millionaire whose wife has no actual income of her own pays a much smaller tax than the New Yorker in exactly the same position. The eight community-property states naturally want to keep their favored position, and it was largely opposition from this quarter that killed mandatory joint returns. On the other hand it is fair to acknowledge that while serving one important principle the Treasury reform clashed with another—the right of a married woman to separate control of her own property or income. On these grounds it was strongly attacked by many women's organizations. The opposition also made much of the argument that joint returns would lead to an epidemic of divorces. Inasmuch as joint returns have long been the rule in Britain, where the divorce rate compares very favorably with our own, this line of attack seems unworthy of the cause in which it was used. What is more to the point is the fact that Britain has found it necessary to increase the earned-income exemption for married women in order to provide them with a greater incentive to take jobs in offices and factories.

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IF YOU HAPPEN TO THINK THAT YOUR Representative has bungled his job, say nothing about it. Should you ignore this advice and insist that your Congressman be held to account for his record, the least you can do, in the name of prudence, is to be sure that his name is not Martin Dies, Joseph Starnes, Noah M. Mason, or J. Parnell Thomas. Because these four Representatives hold themselves above reproach. They believe that they are not merely Congressmen but Congress itself and that any attack on them is an assault on the parliamentary system. Some Americans think that these gentlemen are mistaken, that they are not an institution at all but four small-time politicians whom poll taxes and public negligence have brought a long way. But whether

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they are four hacks or the Spirit of Magna Charta, the point is that Messrs. Dies, Starnes, Mason, and Thomas possess the magic property of Congressional immunity. This gift entitles them to brand you a Communist, a saboteur, or a cannibal without having to answer for it, and they will do just that if you so much as suggest that they are ripe for retirement. Only last week, in their collective capacity as the Dies committee majority and without a trace of an investigation, they formally pronounced the Union for Democratic Action "part of the interlocking directorate of the Communist movement," though at the last count the Union had exactly as many Communists as the National Association of Manufacturers and a standing rule against admitting any more. The Union's criticism of Dies, Starnes, Mason, and other obstructionists, said Dies, Starnes, and Mason, was an attempt "to obliterate the Congress of the United States and Nazify the country." Perhaps this will teach the U. D. A. not to advocate the defeat of men who may slander without risk.

The Willkie Boom

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE Willkie boom is not a product of politics; it is a product of the war. It was launched by Vote for Freedom, an offshoot of Fight for Freedom, organized to keep isolationists and appeasers out of office in the November elections and to support trustworthy exponents of a vigorous democratic war and peace policy. It was taken up by a new non-party group, the Draft Willkie Committee, formed for that specific fight. It has won the support of some—but not enough—Republicans, particularly the "Willkie before Philadelphia" contingent. And various independents of both parties have signed up.

The boom has found strength in strange quarters. Who would have thought, two years ago, to find the Tamiment conference, traditionally the scene of rather solemn left-wing discussions of economic and political problems, converted into a Willkie rally? Who would have expected a labor leader like David Dubinsky, who no doubt denounced John L. Lewis for supporting Willkie in 1940, doing the same thing himself in 1942? In the Willkie-for-Governor ranks are to be found New Dealers of early vintage. Men and women are backing Willkie today precisely because they backed Roosevelt in 1940 and are pro-Roosevelt still. I suspect the Willkie boom may even have found some measure of encouragement deep in the heart of the Administration.

The election in New York this fall has acquired some of the aspects of a war-time by-election in England. We have in this country no truce to freeze candidates and obliterate issues. But we have party machines which pursue a political business-as-usual policy and offer the patriotic voter no valid choice.

Tom Dewey is so completely a hedger and equivocator that it is impossible to label him. He is whatever the political circumstances of the moment seem to suggest. Perhaps he can best be described as an out-and-out, unqualified Deweyite. He hasn't had much time to waste on world affairs because the position of Dewey in the Republican Party had to be established by a great concentration of effort. He has done the job well; Willkie is titular leader of the Republican Party, but Dewey controls the machine. Dewey will be nominated for governor unless a miracle intervenes; it is too late now to unseat him by the slow and laborious methods he used in securing his hold on the party apparatus.

Dewey as Governor of New York would be a powerful contender for the Presidential nomination in 1944; he would have overcome the obstacles of youth and political unpreparedness that tripped him up at Philadelphia in 1940. It is not even outside the range of a good imagination that he might be elected President. Stranger things have happened—as, for example, in 1920. Apart from this threat, however, which at least is two fateful years distant, we face the imminent certainty that the election of Dewey as Governor of New York would obliterate the influence Willkie still exercises in the party councils and weaken his position in the country.

Only the miracle of a thundering public demand will give Willkie the Republican nomination. But Philadelphia witnessed something like that miracle, and Willkie's friends have hope.

Their hopes are not limited to the Republican convention, however. They know their chances there are slim. The Draft Willkie movement is no one-front war; on the contrary it is an all-out defiance of the Old Guard and is based on the belief that Wendell Willkie will run as an independent if he fails to get his party's nomination. His supporters believe this with such determination that one suspects some solid basis for their faith. If they are right, the political drama becomes pure fantasy. When the national leader of a major party deserts the party to run for a state office against its chosen candidate, something like revolution is in the air.

Willkie, running as an independent, would certainly get a good chunk of the Republican vote, that part of it that cares more for defeating Hitler than for perpetuating the control of the machine. He would split the party, even though a majority might stick to regularity and Tom Dewey. Willkie, as an independent, would get a large proportion of the Democratic vote—a far larger proportion than if he were to win the Republican nomination. Many Democrats would support him rather than John J. Bennett, Jr., the unknown Attorney General who looms as the all-but-certain Democratic nominee. If Mead or Poletti should be named, New Deal

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Democrats would probably stick to the party; but neither one has more than an off chance. Direct intervention from the White House in behalf of one of the two might help; but it might not. In any case it is not expected. Farley called on the President and then plumped for Bennett. If Bennett is nominated, Willkie can split the Democratic Party, too, though less fatally than the Republican.

But the real loss the Democrats face is the Labor Party vote. The Labor Party holds the balance of voting power in the state; it may easily decide the election. Already it has repudiated Bennett, and if no liberal candidate is nominated, it will probably swing its support to Willkie, whether he runs on the Republican ticket or as an independent. If he runs, the state election will attain the tension and importance of a national campaign, and that is what it will be. No campaign can be a local party fight this year—as the politicians are about to find out.

Many liberals and labor people will shy off from supporting Willkie. They remember 1940 more vividly than they anticipate 1944. They know that Willkie is not a converted New Dealer; no doubt he still cherishes his faith in "free enterprise," at least in times of peace. They say: "Of course his position on the war is good, and on civil liberties, and race questions, and even on labor. But, after all, it's not up to us to tell the Republicans whom to nominate. And anyhow we don't want to help push them toward power in 1944." They feel detached, spectators of a game they aren't called upon to play. But many others look upon the election of Willkie as a contribution to the war and the peace. These people are war-time opportunists. They say: "We have no organization or leaders on the left to put into the field against Dewey and Bennett. Let's admit that and not parade our impotence as if it were a virtue. Let's back Willkie in order to defeat the Old Guard in both parties —the political Colonel Blimps who would dilute our fighting strength and sell out the peace. We can drop Willkie later on if he doesn't give us what we want. The war is today. Electing Willkie is a war measure."

Too late for extended comment in this issue comes word of the total number of Jews killed by the Nazis. A report presented in London at a session of the World Jewish Congress puts the figure at 1,000,000—almost twice the number of Jews who lived in Germany when Hitler came to power. Some 6,500,000 more Jews have been deported or driven into exile. Race discrimination which began with minor legal restrictions flowered logically into mass extermination. We recoil with almost physical pain from stories of the death of innocent hostages in the civil war consuming Europe today. Let us never forget that the Jews of Europe are hostages for all of us.

Challenge to Churchill

MR. CHURCHILL has returned home to face the first motion of no confidence ever directed against his government. At previous moments of crisis—after the fall of Singapore, for instance—the Prime Minister has jumped ahead of his critics by asking for a vote of confidence. This time a mixed group of Parliamentary back benchers, under Tory leadership but including Labor and Liberal elements, have forestalled him by giving notice of a resolution expressing "no confidence in the central direction of the war." Other groups, avoiding such an outright challenge, have tabled motions urging changes in the government machinery, such as the separation of the offices of Prime Minister and Defense Minister and the institution of a unified command.

These Parliamentary moves followed the fall of Tobruk, but it now seems possible that by the time the debate takes place the government will have to face the loss of Egypt. The momentum of victory is carrying General Rommel forward at a furious pace, and the disorganized British Eighth Army is being given no opportunity to make a stand. Within a few days a last battle for Alexandria and Cairo may be in progress amid the tangled waterways of the Nile Delta, accompanied by an uprising of the many Axis sympathizers in Egypt. The outlook is extremely black, for if Egypt is overrun, the whole stretch of Middle Eastern territory from Suez to Teheran will be in jeopardy. Hitler will be within smelling distance of oil and in a position to put the screws on Turkey to bring it into his camp. Even without fresh victories in Russia this summer, the economic situation of the Axis will be immensely strengthened and Germany's morale will receive a boost sufficient to carry it through a fourth winter of war.

Against such a grim prospect Churchill can only set the fruits of his Washington visit, which, as displayed in the official joint communiqué, do not appear to be very rare and refreshing. The President and the Prime Minister were able to note promising developments in the production field but were constrained to add that transportation continues to provide a major problem. They promised forthcoming operations to divert Nazi strength from Russia, and they concluded by voicing the conviction that the over-all picture was more favorable than at the time of their previous meetings.

This cautious and vague statement is hardly likely to satisfy Mr. Churchill's Parliamentary critics, who can feel with some reason that they are voicing a rising tide of discontent among the people. This was exemplified by the victory at the Maldon by-election of a member of the independent Nine-Point Group described by Tom Wintringham in last week's *Nation*. Nevertheless, the chances are that Mr. Churchill and his government will weather

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the present storm if only because there is no alternative in sight. Sir Stafford Cripps, who is sometimes mentioned in this connection, has a considerable popular following, but it is extremely unlikely that he would be able to command a majority in Parliament. The more moderate critics of Mr. Churchill, therefore, are hoping that his leadership will be continued but that he will consent to turn over the Defense Ministry to other hands. This would enable him to give more attention to the government as a whole and to take up the task of eradicating that bureaucratic dry-rot which may prove on inquiry to have had a major share in recent British defeats.

The New Draft Policy

FOR the first time since the passage of the original Burke-Wadsworth selective-service bill in the summer of 1940, draft procedures have undergone a fundamental reorganization. As a result of provisions written into the bill giving financial aid to the dependents of fighting men, the Selective Service Administration last week requested the local boards to shift the draft classification from the familiar Classes I, II, III, and IV into four new categories which would include, in turn, single men without dependents, single men with dependents, married men without children, and married men with children. This is a basic change because it takes away from the local draft board the necessity for probing deeply into a married man's financial status before deciding whether he should be deferred. It makes family relationship rather than dependency the determining factor with respect to deferment.

There is undoubtedly much to be said in favor of the change. In the past many draft boards have deferred all married men, but others have taken them unless dependency could be established beyond question. This lack of uniformity in policy has been the cause of some bitterness and much needless anxiety on the part of men and women with established families. It is probable that if the change in policy had not been made mandatory many local draft boards would have regarded the new allotments for dependents as a green light for the immediate reclassification and induction of large numbers of married men. The new provisions should also be helpful in checking the withdrawal of married women from jobs because of fear that their employment will affect their husbands' draft status, and in encouraging married women to seek jobs in war industries, where they are badly needed.

The revised policy does not, however, meet the basic problem of keeping skilled agricultural and industrial workers where they can make the maximum contribution to the war effort. Local draft boards still must decide which men, in their opinion, are subject to deferment as "necessary men" in their civilian jobs; and in most cases local boards have been very reluctant—despite pressure from Washington—to grant deferment on occupational grounds. The new regulations may make this situation worse by increasing the pressure for the induction of single men, regardless of their occupations.

Under the law local boards cannot be forced to induct men merely to meet their quotas. The Selective Service Act specifically says that "quotas of men to be inducted . . . shall be determined for each state . . . on the basis of the actual number of men in the several states . . . who are liable for . . . service *but who are not deferred after classification.*" But the average draft board is probably unaware of this provision of the law; and being under constant pressure to meet quota requirements may be tempted to reclassify men previously deferred for occupational reasons. General Hershey's order to the local draft boards specifically stated that new categories had no effect upon occupational classifications, but it is doubtful whether this warning will be sufficient to prevent a rather general reclassification of single men in essential industries. The horizon of local boards has far too often been limited to the town or area in which they work. They have been particularly unsympathetic in the case of workers who have left their home districts to take war jobs in some distant city.

The War Man-Power Board has sought to meet the problem by a directive, issued last week, instructing local boards to consult the United States Employment Service before classifying draft registrants skilled in critical occupations. But as industrial needs increase, it is evident that more drastic steps will be necessary if we are to make the maximum use of the skills of our population. Many men possessing skills badly needed in the war effort are not now engaged in war industries. Unless prompt action is taken, the single men in this group are likely to be inducted en masse within the next few months. To avoid this some sort of a "work-or-fight" order such as was adopted in the last war might well be issued.

There are, of course, many other imperfections in the selective-service machinery that have not been removed by the new procedures. The burden on the unpaid, understaffed, overworked draft boards has, if anything, been increased by the new orders. The least that should be done to ease the task of these men, who have sacrificed all their spare time for the country, is to provide them with clerical assistance. It is desirable also that there should be a general strengthening of federal influence over the local draft boards in the interest of uniformity and as a means of obtaining a broader view of national man-power policies.

[*I. F. Stone is on vacation, and for the next three weeks his regular Washington articles will not appear.*]

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Defense Will Lose the Near East

BY ALEXANDER KIRALFY

VIEWED in proper perspective, Tobruk with its aftermath, the Nazi-Fascist invasion of Egypt, was neither a defeat of Britain's Eighth Army nor a reflection on its leadership and equipment. It was the inevitable result of the system of war adopted by the United Nations. Had the positions been reversed, with Marshal Rommel holding Tobruk and being attacked under similar circumstances by General Ritchie, Tobruk would still have fallen. The campaign thus far has been a repetition of the old story of the ineffectiveness of the defense against a carefully prepared attack. It is an example of what is bound to occur whenever the Allies' philosophy of winning a war tomorrow comes into contact with the Axis theory of winning a war today. Our methods are understandably based upon our late preparations and the desire to avoid more Dunkirks. The dilemma, however, is ours, not the enemy's, and he may be expected to take advantage of it at every opportunity.

The first principle upon which the Nazi-Fascists are acting is that Egypt is a primary front, whereas to the United Nations it appears to be a secondary front. According to our theory of war, the Russian is the primary front, and it is planned to create a second primary front, for instance in France, first to relieve the enemy pressure upon the Soviet armies, and then to cooperate with them in a drive into Germany. With this theory there can be no quarrel. If it can be worked out without decisive hindrance from the enemy, then obviously Egypt and a number of other regions will automatically fall into the category of secondary fronts.

The Axis powers, however, have created a number of fronts which they consider primary because they have dedicated them to the task of destroying the Allied primary fronts, actual and potential. The Egyptian front can easily become such a front, if it is not already one.

Marshal Rommel's drive appears to be part of a pincers movement which, together with the Axis drives farther north, is intended to outflank the Soviet armies from the south, sever their communications with the Indian Ocean sea lanes, and expel the Allies from the Near and Middle East. A concurrent drive to cut our lifelines to Murmansk would not only weaken Russian resistance but enable the Nazis to withdraw troops from the Soviet front to counter our attempt to establish a second primary front in Western Europe.

Since the initiative in such operations rests with Hitler, one cannot for the moment be certain whether this grand strategic movement is fully under way, or whether the present drives are an attempt to lower the Russian guard and expose the Leningrad-Moscow front. Berlin has the alternative of trying to crush the Red armies now or of continuing its push into the Near East.

In their attacks upon Malta, the Germans, in addition to observing their principle of having a number of primary fronts, employed a peculiar type of diversion which is significant in that it might be applied to Cyprus, a British island off the coasts of Syria and Turkey, and to other points. It consisted in bombing Malta so heavily as to suggest that an actual invasion might be expected. During the raids the defensive air force was compelled to remain close to the island, and British warships necessarily kept away. In the meantime, enemy troopships and transports were crossing from Italy to Africa in large numbers. This suggests that in such strategic positions a proportion of the defensive aircraft should watch for Axis shipping even when their station is under attack.

Other principles of war applicable to the present operation are directly derived from the defects inherent in any defensive system. Defense involves waiting, and during this time many opportunities are open to the attacker. Thus the Nazis have on a number of occasions adopted a pendulum-like method of operating. This consists of a number of partial moves culminating in an unexpected all-out dash. The latter can be successful if the defenders believe it to be just another partial movement. An Italian advance into Egypt stopped in mid-September, 1940; a Nazi-led thrust died out in the middle of 1941; and the extent of the present invasion may depend as much upon the entire scheme of German strategy as upon the sufficiency of the defenses of Egypt.

The last Axis advance upon that country took place over a year ago, the intervening period having been punctuated by a limited British invasion of Libya. During this time-gap the Germans were able to consign more powerful equipment to their Afrika Korps. The German Mark IV tank and the highly mobile eighty-eight-millimeter all-purpose gun appear to have been grim and decisive novelties on the Libyan-Egyptian front. The same time-gap may have permitted the enemy to devise means of overcoming difficulties of climate and terrain and of solving the attendant communications problems.

If it is not wise to rely too strongly upon such obstacles to continued invasion as distance, desert heat, and lack of watering facilities, it is also undesirable to minimize the importance of interrupting hostile communications across the Mediterranean. London has re-

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ported that on some occasions these have been severed for a week or more at a stretch, and that at other times Axis shipping had been reduced by one-half. Inasmuch as a full year elapsed between the halting of the last Axis offensive in Africa and the beginning of the present movement, great stores must have been accumulated in the Italian colonies. The greater the length of coastline that the enemy is able to conquer, the more protection he can furnish his shipping, and the farther United Nations airmen must fly to strike at important Axis bases.

Yet another principle that should be taken into account in the Egyptian operations is the distinction between the Axis and United Nations concept of neutrality, in this case as applicable to Turkey. There can be little question that the Nazis will move into Turkey when it suits them. An open plain funnels out before them to Istanbul, which is highly susceptible to aerial assault. This being the case, the importance of the Dardanelles diminishes considerably. As it is, the fortifications are already threatened in the rear by German positions in Thrace. In the Dodecanese Islands the enemy is within a stone's throw of Asia Minor, and the rumblings of the twenty-four-inch Nazi guns reported to be in action against Sevastopol are undoubtedly echoing in Turkey, to which country the Soviet naval base is no insignificant key. In the meantime Asia Minor acts as a shield for the Nazis' southwestern flank, and beyond, in Syria and Iraq, two other British armies are tied down and unable adequately to bolster the defenses of Egypt.

Unless some diversion can be created in this region, Britain's Eighth Army must remain exposed to all the pitfalls of a defensive campaign. Its leaders are facing no small task. The swelling ranks of the United States army and our ever-mounting production are compelling the Nazis to take drastic steps in an effort to make our strength innocuous by the expedient of seizing all possible territory from which we can bring our pressure to bear. And the more effective the bombings of Colognes and Bremens, the more will Berlin turn to Southeastern Europe for factory sites. All factors combine to indicate the Near and Middle East as a proximate Axis objective, and to this whole region Egypt is an important key.

Keep Them Out!

IV. THE REVEREND GERALD B. WINROD

BY WILL CHASAN AND VICTOR RIESEL

ON JUNE 5, 1940, the stenographer in a Wichita, Kansas, courtroom recorded an unusual proceeding. Mrs. Gerald B. Winrod, suing the Reverend Gerald B. Winrod for separate maintenance, testified that she could no longer tolerate his pro-Nazi views. Her husband, she told the court, "was preaching the gospel but filling it with Nazi propaganda against the United States." He was teaching their children that "everything Hitler did was right and that everything England and France did was wrong." He had unnerved her by asserting that he was to become "dictator of the country after the revolution," and that if any trouble developed he would take her to a hideout in Wyoming. He had made the threat of trouble seem ominous enough, she testified, by talking of the government's "closing in" on him and of conspiracies to capture him. He had kept their windows shut and their shades drawn, and had moved about the house with a gun in his hand. Finally, concerned for her safety and that of her three children, Mrs. Winrod said, she had fled to the sanctuary of a Wichita hotel.

Is the Reverend Gerald B. Winrod a fascist? The paunchy, Bible-thumping revivalist who plans to be a candidate for the United States Senate this fall says a "blacker lie was never spawned in the diseased brain of a red propagandist." His wife, he intimated darkly, had somehow fallen under the influence of international Jewry, which had circulated the charge of fascism to prevent him from obtaining the Republican Senatorial nomination in 1938. "The destroyers," he wrote in a recent open letter to Kansas Republicans, "knew that I possessed inside information concerning their plot of world revolution. They knew . . . I was informed regarding the true nature of the international Communist conspiracy to wipe Christianity from the earth. They knew, also, they could never hope to control me by the power of gold, or otherwise."

Winrod, who was the inspiration for Sinclair Lewis's Buzz Windrip, unearthed his international Jewish conspiracy shortly after Hitler came to power. His magazine, the *Defender,* which he began to publish during the Fundamentalists' war against the evolutionists, became stridently anti-Semitic and announced that Jewish conspirators were plotting to overthrow our government. Later he was to reveal that President Roosevelt's name really is Rosenfelt, and that the New Deal therefore represents not only a political but a "biological" problem. He was also to charge that the kidnapping of the

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Lindbergh baby was part of a Jewish-Communist plot. In January, 1935, after a visit to Germany made at the invitation of Dr. Otto H. S. Vollbehr, a propagandist for the Reich, he informed a meeting of his followers that his experience abroad had convinced him that Jews were responsible for all the ills of the world. Since then he has deluged the Bible Belt, in which he has concentrated his activities, with vast quantities of anti-Semitic propaganda, typical of which is a statement that Jew-Communists are getting Negroes to do their dirty work by promising that after the revolution Negroes will have all the white women they want. More significant politically, perhaps, is his frequently repeated accusation that "international Jewish communism is basically responsible for the present chaotic state of affairs." "The invasion of communism into the Orient two decades ago," he says, "sired the damnably vicious spirit of aggression that produced the tragedy of Pearl Harbor."

Now in his middle forties, Winrod was born in Wichita, where he was educated at the local grammar school. His father, a Fundamentalist preacher who is reported to have had the distinction of serving drinks in the first saloon invaded by Carrie Nation, then apprenticed him to an itinerant evangelist. Aside from a correspondence-school course in journalism, this concluded Winrod's education. He worked for a while as a clerk in a public-utilities company at Eldorado, Kansas, before he plunged into his career as a tent evangelist and rabble rouser. Along with William Jennings Bryan, he zealously campaigned against evolutionist teaching in the schools, threatening his opponents with lightning bolts and other manifestations of the wrath of God. When interest in the monkey battles ebbed, Winrod turned to Catholic-baiting, which was popular in Kansas during the Klan ascendancy. His experiences on the stump made him an effective orator of the somber, finger-pointing school, and his attacks on evolutionism and Catholicism endeared him to Bible Belt bigots.

Winrod's fascist activities, his wife's testimony indicated, date from his German visit; so do his Senatorial ambitions. On his return he told the *Defender* staff somewhat pontifically, "I am now absolutely sure of going to the United States Senate. When there I will make it my sounding board." Three years later, in 1938, he almost made good his boast. To "serve God and my generation"—Winrod usually implies that God is an active partner in all his ventures—he entered a four-cornered race for the Republican Senatorial nomination and immediately assumed the lead. Republican leaders, many of whom saw no possibility of heading off the "Jayhawk Nazi," became thoroughly frightened. William Allen White privately expressed the belief that Winrod's strongest opponent, Clyde Reed, a former governor who had actively opposed the Klan, had no chance of victory and warned that Kansas was "threatened by an outbreak of Nazi hysteria." Shortly before the primary Robert S. Allen reported in the Philadelphia *Record* that Winrod was an "easy three-to-two bet as the winner."

Winrod finally was beaten by a last-minute campaign directed by White, the Reverend L. M. Birkhead, a number of other churchmen, and the Wichita Allied Printing Trades Council. His opponents were badly hampered until the closing weeks of the primary race by the reluctance of John D. M. Hamilton, then National Chairman of the Republican Party, and other prominent Republican spokesmen to declare themselves for Reed. Hamilton, who dislikes Reed because the latter had elbowed him out of a nomination for governor, finally was induced to issue a statement against Winrod. But despite Hamilton's statement and one from Alf Landon, and the fact that Kansas was flooded with quotations from Winrod's pro-Nazi, anti-Semitic, and anti-Catholic writings—he once described the Roman Catholic church as the "harlot woman of the Bible" and said of Jim Farley, "being a ring-kissing Catholic, his first allegiance is to the temporal ruler of the Vatican, a certain Mr. Pius"—he polled 53,000 votes. This was not altogether surprising in a state which for a while was dominated by the Klan and in 1930 almost elected Dr. Brinkley, the goat-gland quack, to the governorship.

An aspect of Winrod's campaign which puzzled Kansas newspapermen was that it had very substantial and unexplained financial support. His finances had been the subject of general suspicion since his return from Germany. One reporter wrote, "Prior to a European trip in 1935, during which he visited Germany, Rev. Winrod had worked and lived on a modest scale. Upon his return he began blossoming out." It was estimated that Winrod was spending $5,000 a week, an unprecedented sum in Kansas politics, and probably more than the combined expenditures of his three opponents. Politicians familiar with the frugality of the average Kansan scoffed at his claim that he was being financed by dollar-bill contributions from his followers and the profits of his publishing house. Some believed he was being aided by reactionary business elements; others attributed his affluence to German support.

Another noteworthy aspect of the 1938 campaign was Winrod's lamb-like disavowal of racial or religious bigotry. He appealed to Republican voters with anti-New Deal broadsides, asked for the repeal of "experimental legislation," and, in the Bryan tradition, demanded the "restoration of the right to create money to Congress so that duly elected representatives of the people shall control the flow of currency." But he refrained from praising the accomplishments of the Third Reich, which he had commended to the *Defender's* more than 100,000 readers as the only regime that "has ever dared to try and completely extricate itself from the control of international Jewry." He represented himself as a pious,

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peace-loving Christian and democrat who had been greatly maligned.

Actually he has disseminated more genuine fascist propaganda than any other American pro-Nazi. The *Defender* has been an American version of the *Stürmer;* in addition, he has published two other magazines, both now defunct, and hundreds of pamphlets, and has delivered thousands of speeches, all embodying the Goebbels doctrine. He justified Germany's invasion of Czecho-Slovakia by saying that "Czecho-Slovakia was red and virtually a military base for Soviet Russia." He similarly justified Japan's aggression against China as a fight against the "red menace," and called the Spanish civil war the result of "Jewish fierceness." After his German visit he diligently spread the story that religious freedom had not been impaired by the Nazis, and that "no synagogues have been closed in Germany since Hitler came to power nor have the religious liberties of the Jewish people been jeopardized." Echoing the *Stürmer,* Winrod has charged that the Jews, whom he usually alludes to as the "Hidden Hand," got us into the last war and into this one through their control of the press and radio, that they drove Russia into communism, slaughtered millions of Christians, and dominated the French Popular Front government, and that the international Jewish banking fraternity controls the New Deal hierarchy and the Churchill Cabinet. He characterizes liberalism as a "cancer, a disease eating into the flesh of American life." In a weird pamphlet entitled The NRA in Prophecy and a Discussion of Beast Worship, he charged that the NRA was the mark of the beast—"Satan's messiah." In the same pamphlet he wrote, "I am reliably informed that there are places in Russia where in order to get work, food, and a tax rate that is endurable one must have the Hammer and Sickle tattooed on his flesh."

Winrod's activities have been closely integrated with those of other members of America's fascist network. This was especially obvious during the foreign-policy debate, when he delivered numerous speeches against aid to England, circulated anti-war petitions, and quoted most of the known American fascists in the *Defender.* The list of those whom he has published and praised in the *Defender* reads like a who's who of American fascism. It includes Father Coughlin, Gerald L. K. Smith, Colonel Sanctuary, James True, ex-Congressman Jacob Thorkelson, R. E. Edmondson, Lawrence Dennis, and a score of others. He has been praised in turn by most of them; Smith recently placed him on his list of outstanding Americans, and Edmondson once named him on a fascist roll of honor. Winrod has made extensive use of World Service, a German propaganda agency.

Most of Winrod's own publications are a bizarre mixture of fundamentalism and fascism. The *Defender* prints along with its anti-Semitic screeds articles which denounce the cigarette as an instrument of Satan and demand a new prohibition amendment. A typical one begins, "Should Christians play cards? That is the burning question before all Christians today." The answer is No. Winrod does an extensive mail-order business in religious publications and articles. He issues a catalogue which advertises everything from pencils to neckties, all with appropriate religious inscriptions, and has published a booklet called "What Is Wrong with the Movies?"—a nothing-is-held-back exposé of sin in Hollywood.

Gerald B. Winrod

Winrod's chief backing comes from a group of thirty to forty influential Fundamentalist preachers, who accept his leadership, invite him to address their congregations, and write for the *Defender.* One of them, the Reverend George D. Blomgren of Chicago, accompanied Winrod to Germany. Another, Dr. W. D. Herrstrom of Akron, once replied to the charge that pamphlets written by him were being sold in the Aryan Bookstore, a Nazi agency in Los Angeles, with the observation that it was "as important to evangelize Nazi Gentiles as it is to evangelize Communist Jews." The Reverend Harry H. Hodge of Beaumont, Texas, a close friend of Congressman Martin Dies, is also a Winrod associate. There is excellent reason to believe that in the summer of 1937 Hodge was instrumental in having Dies call off an investigation of Winrod. As a matter of fact, a Dies committee investigator visited Newton, Kansas, where the *Defender* is printed, but was mysteriously recalled.

Winrod's Fundamentalist followers provide him with an excellent political base, and those familiar with the Kansas electorate regard his political activities with misgivings. No one concedes him a chance of victory over Senator Capper, who is a Kansas institution and an old-line Borah isolationist, but it is felt that if he becomes a candidate, as now seems likely, he may poll 75,000 votes. Pearl Harbor has wrought no change in his views. His circular letter to Kansas Republicans rehashes his old diatribes against the Jews, blames the war on the Communists, and refers to the New Deal as if it were some colossal sin. That he is a crackpot pure and simple does not alter the fact that his insistent propaganda has won thousands of supporters. Unless he is watched, he may some day be shouting his ugly opinions from the floor of the Senate.

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Housekeeping in France

BY AMO PALLAVICINI

FOUR weeks ago I arrived in this country from France. While my memory is still fresh, I should like to describe my daily life there, which was that of the average French housewife.

It is the last day of the month, and rationing cards must be renewed for the coming month. A quick glance at the newspaper to see when people whose names begin with P, the first letter of our last name, are to be called. Our turn comes tomorrow; the office is open from eight in the morning until noon.

I make sure to get up early. The morning air is cold, and the night's stars still glow faintly. As I reach the Town Hall of the little place in the south of France where we have been living for several months, the church clock is striking seven. Even at this early hour there are ten people awaiting their turn. You never arrive early enough! Young women and old stand patiently in line, all of them bundled in sweaters and knitted cap-mufflers which cover the head and shoulders. The little old woman just ahead of me is not wearing shoes. Instead, she has wrapped her feet in rags held on by strings carefully tied around her legs. She tells me she made a written demand for shoes three months ago but has received no reply.

At nine o'clock my turn comes. The fat man at the desk doesn't seem to be in very good humor.

"How many people in the family? Your identity cards, please."

I hand him the cards with my ration book. "Five, sir," I answer; "three children, my husband, and I."

Each person has a ration book and, in addition, special coupons renewable each month which entitle him to bread, meat, oils and fats, cheese, milk, soap. The ration book itself contains coupons for monthly allotments of sugar, coffee, noodles, rice, chocolate—the last two items issued only to babies and growing children. Each book is marked with a number and letter indicating the classification of the owner—for example, adult, worker, child, baby. The classification determines the quantity and kind of food allotted.

The clerk takes my five sheets marked Bread and painstakingly inscribes on each names and numbers corresponding to those on my five ration books, a procedure repeated for meat, cheese, and the rest.

By the time I reach the grocery with my precious coupons a line of fifty has already formed. If I take my place at the end of it, not only shall I surely miss my turn at the butcher's but by the time I reach the bakery not an ounce of bread will be left. I quickly decide: about face and off to the butcher's. After a half-hour's wait I manage to get my allowance of meat (the meat ration is two ounces per person twice a week). Veal again! For two months we've had nothing but veal. Have I the right to buy any delicatessen? The butcher says that my number will come up in three days and that if I'm lucky I may be able to get a slice of ham for my two-year-old daughter. But he warns me to arrive by seven in the morning or no ham will be left.

Back to the grocery store. Fifteen people are still ahead of me. By the time I get inside there is little left—some carrots in a basket, on the counter a few cabbages, and in a corner four leeks. I have brought an empty bottle—you must have a bottle for liquids and a bag or piece of paper for wrapping your noodles, sugar, and the like.

"Your turn, madame. I haven't very much for you today." This is the grocer's formula. Hopefully I hand him my bottle and ask for some cooking oil.

"No more oil or sugar until the fifteenth, madame."

For the past eight days I haven't had a single drop of oil or an ounce of butter in the house. I'll have to cook in water. My booty at the grocer's is meager indeed; I've managed to buy six carrots, a leek, and a little cabbage. As I go out the door the grocer advises me to get there early tomorrow morning, because he is expecting some vegetables.

With my half-empty shopping bag I go home, planning our dinner and supper on the way. "Let me see, I still have some potatoes in the cellar, and with the slices of tomatoes I strung together and dried last fall, I can make a sauce. Two potatoes for each of us. That will be the *plat de résistance*. There's no fruit in the house, so I had better pull up some salad from the garden. But I have no oil. Well, I'll make a dressing without oil—without vinegar too. And what shall we have this evening? I'll add some carrots, the cabbage, and the leek to the water I cooked the potatoes in. Perhaps I can put in some lettuce leaves and a handful of noodles. That will make our evening soup." By the time I reach the house, the menu is decided on.

It's cold in the house, and the children are half frozen even though fully dressed for outdoors. But we can't make a fire. Our coal ration is 660 pounds for the whole winter and wood is scarce. We light the fire only in the evening and only in the room we use from five until eight. It's never really warm there, but once the stove is going we can bear to take off the coats, berets, scarves, and gloves we've been wearing all day.

As most French mothers have no one with whom to

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leave the children while shopping, children stay in bed, securely tied for safety, and are at least warm during the long morning hours when their mothers are in queues.

Now, about my midday dinner. First of all, everything must be peeled, sliced, and ready for the evening soup before the gas is turned on. Gas is furnished for only two and a half hours a day—half an hour in the morning, an hour at noon, and an hour in the evening. I peel the potatoes, add water, and set them on the stove. On top of this pot I must put another for the tomatoes. The steam from the potatoes will heat the sauce at the same time, and I shall then have a free burner for the laundry. On another burner I put the evening soup.

Today is Monday, wash day. Last night I soaked the clothes in tepid water to which I added "soap powder," a chemical compound that actually contains very little soap. The clothes can't be washed with regular soap, for the soap ration is barely enough to keep us clean. This afternoon I shall wash the clothes with the doubtful "soap powder." Usually I add a little wood ashes to the water, wrapped in an old rag. After the water has boiled, the clothes go in, and the ashes manage to bleach them in an hour.

In the evenings I usually busy myself trying to darn the children's clothes. The word "darn" is a euphemism because darning cotton, needles, buttons, and elastic are no longer to be had. And anyone who doesn't happen to have some left over from earlier days must resign herself to torn clothes. Every scrap of material is precious. Each button or bit of elastic is jealously guarded. This evening I rip two of my old sweaters to make a pullover for one of my three daughters. The colors don't match well, but that doesn't matter as long as the sweater keeps her warm. The other day I finished making a pair of children's stockings out of an old scarf.

Shoes are another problem. To obtain a pair of shoes you must go to the Town Hall and make a written request for a shoe-purchase card. You must be able to show that you have no other shoes at home and that those you are wearing are completely worn through. You make your request, fill out a detailed form, and then one fine day the answer comes—"Application rejected."

The problem of repairs is equally serious. Shoemakers find it impossible to obtain thread, leather, or nails. Most women and many men are wearing shoes with soles and heels of wood and uppers of canvas trimmed with a bit of leather. Almost all the children wear wooden shoes.

Tuesday comes, and, shopping bag in hand, I go down to the corner and wait for the street car. Today we're going into Marseilles to celebrate Jean's birthday. A quick look at my shopping bag to make sure that I've forgotten nothing: coupons for bread, meat, butter, cheese, and a little wooden box containing a few lumps of sugar. I've also put in some presents for Jean. Not pre-war presents to be sure; I've pulled up some turnips, radishes, and four magnificent heads of lettuce. He will be pleased with the gifts, for in the city the food problem is even more acute than it is in the country.

I'm the last to arrive. Madame D. is there with her daughter. The pretty brunette in the corner has just arrived from Cannes. My Paris neighbor, who has been living here for some time, is just as gay as ever. There are half a dozen men at the party.

The major topic of discussion is food. What else is there to talk about? We exchange menus—and also the names of dressmakers who provide their own thread. My Paris neighbor describes how to cook eggplant with very little oil. Madame D. tells me you can find dried bananas at one of the stores. They're delicious and nourishing, and you don't have to be on the store's list of regular purchasers to get them. Poor Madame D. was rash enough to use up all her provisions, thinking she could soon leave the country. But still her visa does not come. One of the men, who is said to be well informed, says: "These gentlemen [the Germans] are badly in need of leather and have been slaughtering a large number of cattle, which explains why my butcher can offer nothing but veal." And it appears that in Cannes people have only rutabaga to eat.

"Everyone come to the table," says our hostess.

We rush to seat ourselves. Silence settles down over the table. Everyone takes a quick glance at the casserole and begins to calculate how big a serving he will receive. The courses are served in the casseroles in which they were cooked; not a drop of oil or sauce can be wasted. Each one furtively compares his serving with that of his neighbor. Hunger does strange things to men and women. You are ashamed, but you will continue to make those secret calculations, those furtive comparisons. Wine has been rationed at a liter a week per person, so we content ourselves with water. When the plates are carried back to the kitchen one might think that they had never been used. Not a speck of food or sauce remains on them.

Then comes the sorest point of the evening, the moment when the men take out their cigarettes. Only the men are entitled to a tobacco rationing coupon. It provides four cigarettes a day. Everyone saves stubs, and not only his own; if a visitor should by chance leave a stub in the ash tray it is quickly retrieved and stored away in the "stub box." With the stubs of four cigarettes you can eke out a fifth smoke.

Even in the midst of these hardships we retain our sense of humor. The evening in town was amusing, and waiting in queues in our own village I've often laughed at a "good one" told with all the savor of a singing Marseillais accent. And now and then, too, I've detected a glimmer of hope among my neighbors that the Germans will soon be worn out and that then they will be driven out of France.

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Thoughts on "World War III?"

[*The article by J. Alvarez del Vayo, World War III?, published in* The Nation of *June 20, raised questions of great importance both in waging the war to a democratic victory and in achieving a people's peace.* The Nation *asked a number of persons of various nationalities, expert in the field of international relations, to contribute comments on the main points covered in Mr. del Vayo's article. They were asked specifically (1) whether they believed that the new agreements with the Soviet Union provided a basis on which the democratic forces in the United Nations could work toward the establishment of a democratic peace; (2) whether they believed that a new and more thoroughgoing system of collective security should be developed to replace the League of Nations and if so, what form it should take; (3) whether they thought that a Socialist reconstruction of Europe was necessary to insure a durable peace; (4) whether they believed that Article III of the Atlantic Charter should be amended so as to make it possible to prevent the establishment or continuance of fascist governments; and (5) by what means they thought the interests of the peoples themselves could be expressed in the future world organization. Some of the comments received appear below. Others will be published in subsequent issues of* The Nation.]

RUSTEM VAMBERY

Dean emeritus of the Law School of the Royal University of Budapest; at present chairman of the American Federation of Democratic Hungarians

EVERY honest democrat should welcome Mr. del Vayo's well-considered suggestions. He will realize, too, the difficulties which they imply. Mr. del Vayo's parallel between the Congress of Vienna and the Paris Peace Conference seems to me somewhat inaccurate. Napoleon's warriors, after all, carried the ideas of the revolution in their knapsacks, and the Holy Alliance served as a Maginot Line against liberty until the July and March revolutions cracked it. This is probably why the British preferred the Reform Act to the Holy Alliance. After World War I it was merely German megalomania which the treaties were supposed to keep in check.

Clemenceau, in a whimsical mood, once said that war was much too serious a business to be left to the military, but apparently peace was not serious enough or it would not have been left to military-minded civilians. The conflict between military and civilian authority has to be faced in every war that is fought against an aggressor in order to maintain the status quo, of which reactionaries are always the strongest supporters. Some of them still do not realize that Hitler's objective is not the protection of their property. Even less are they aware of the hopelessness of defending liberty and the democratic way of life without "a drive toward social security and economic democracy."

In spite of this I do not quite share Mr. del Vayo's pessimism, because in the long run the people are always stronger than any international conspiracy of appeasers and reactionaries. "Men," as Count Sforza has recently so well put it, "die only for ideas—for moral ideas."

MICHAEL STRAIGHT

Washington editor of the New Republic

OF COURSE I agree with Mr. del Vayo's analysis of the dangers present in this war, and with his insistence on the necessity of organized political action for liberal ends. I would be still more specific: everyone who agrees with Mr. del Vayo has the immediate duty of joining some such organization as Free World and spreading its ideas, and at the same time of undertaking community action in the November elections to rid Congress of the potential betrayers of the next peace.

Three points raised by Mr. del Vayo might be reemphasized. First, it is necessary to clarify the relationship between popular movements and governments. Mr. del Vayo fears the Foreign Offices; but, after all, the British and the American governments are good governments, and, more important, they are allied with the governments, not of Metternich and Talleyrand, but of Litvinov and T. V. Soong. Our duty is first to strengthen the interrelations of these governments, which still are weak, then to maintain for these governments a freedom of action that will enable them to create the future.

Second, in Mr. del Vayo's skepticism about our ability in war time to dispossess the forces of reaction I sense a defensive attitude toward the war. I am sure the Foreign Secretary of the government which first showed to the world that war could be a time of glorious democratic development is not so burdened. Why does our thinking here still tend to be defensive? War itself is working for us when it demands the conscription of wealth and the full utilization of resources, if only we can understand the process. Because conservatism opposes world organization and liberalism leads the fight for it, we need to develop to the utmost this domestic struggle, insisting that war is only an example of a nation working at full blast, and that any nation which wishes to continue at full blast must retain and develop the kind of controls which war creates.

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Third, Mr. del Vayo writes of the Third World War. But who is to be the aggressor in this war? From what causes is it to arise? We need to be very clear about what war is likely to follow this war.

Mr. del Vayo suggests that the next war may arise from a return to power politics. I doubt this. Because the foundations of world organization are already in existence, there are even in this war elements of civil war. These foundations cannot be destroyed by a political settlement, however bad. So it follows that the next world war, if we permit it to come, will not be an imperialist war, but a civil war. I doubt that Germany will play a primary role in this war. It will be a war between Russia and ourselves to determine which of our two systems will become the basis of world society.

Four score and seven years passed between Philadelphia and Gettysburg. For the next hundred years our object will be to unite the world without a world civil war. We shall succeed only if we simultaneously create a world allegiance among all peoples and destroy the primary basis of civil war, which is social conflict. That we shall do only if our government retains permanently the functions and powers which it now possesses.

HENRI LAUGIER

Former director of the French Foreign Office; at present general secretary of France Forever

THE article by J. Alvarez del Vayo is of capital importance because it invites the United Nations to "reflect." The coalition needs greatly to reflect, not only to win the war, but to organize the world after the peace.

1. The third point of the Atlantic Charter cannot serve as a basis for the peace. It is the duty of the democracies concerned to establish in the countries which they will have conquered or liberated, democratic governments founded on popular sovereignty; it is equally their duty to set the people on the road to liberty by placing their economic, financial, and military resources at the service of these young governments.

2. A peace based on balance of power would be absurd. Only those who still cling to the hateful remnants of the past can think of such a peace. The new peace must create a spirit of "world citizenship." The sovereignty of the states must be subordinated to the well-being of morally and materially powerful international organizations.

3. Given the present development of science, techniques, and thinking, narrow nationalisms, shut in by the physical delimitations of their frontiers, are an offense to the mind. I am certain that the reconstruction of Europe can be founded only on forms which respect the value of manual and intellectual labor and which free all workers from the bonds imposed on them by powerful economic systems.

4. The problem of the relations between the democracies and the Soviet Union after victory is won is assuredly a grave one, rich in promise but charged with dangers. My feeling is this: if, after the destruction of Nazism, the democracies have faith in their own cause, if they show themselves to be constructive and resolutely face the future, if a *mystique* of a conquering, universal democracy is created—then the pacts between Soviet Russia and the democracies concluded during the war have every chance of developing and drawing the whole world toward a fertile cooperation in the future. On the other hand, if on the morrow of victory the democracies return to their conservatism and show themselves hesitant or hostile to broad social experiments, black days are in prospect for them.

CARLO SFORZA

Former Foreign Minister of Italy

SINCE I believe that general discussions of this sort are at present more suitable for Americans than for foreigners I shall limit myself to a few facts and recollections.

I do not believe that any political party as such can assure peace and progress to Europe. History is made by men, not by formulas. Can we forget the pitiful show made by the German Socialists when they came to power? At the end of 1918, however, Wilson demonstrated that a man possessed of a religious idea may exercise a powerful influence on the world. Why, then, did he partially fail? Because having gone to France as a prophet, he there accepted the role of diplomat, specifically when he compromised with the Japanese on Shantung. He thought that since he had created, in the League of Nations, the remedy for the ills which led to the war, any injustices and blunders in the peace could be corrected later on. History is, of course, interwoven with blunders and remedies. But the normal, indolent course was too dangerous to follow just after millions of men had died—many of them for an idea—in the trenches from the North Sea to the Piave. And after this war such a course would be even more dangerous.

The history of Europe before 1931 is not designed to create a feeling of optimism concerning its leaders. When public opinion in England and, to a lesser degree, in France revolted against the policy of complicity with Mussolini in the Ethiopian crisis, Anthony Eden and Delbos replaced Sir Samuel Hoare and Laval. But shortly thereafter an even more dangerous crisis arose—the Spanish civil war. And Eden and Delbos committed, passively if not actively, the same errors for which they had denounced their predecessors. Is it possible that the disease of the democracies is the same that has afflicted all great European dynasties and families, which after a few generations lose their possibilities of leadership?

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As for the League of Nations, even as it was it might have saved the peace of the world. It was the men who should have used it loyally as an instrument of peace, not the League itself, that failed. The League of tomorrow needs two things, both of which are much simpler than an "international police force." First, it must give up unanimity in favor of a majority quorum. Second, it must return to the basic idea stated in the first draft of the League Covenant, namely, that only those states may be members which are governed according to the freely expressed will of their citizens. Wilson's first error, under pressure of the "realists," was to drop this provision from the final draft. Such a clause in the Covenant would have prevented Fascism in Italy.

The Italian people would have overthrown Fascism at the start of the Ethiopian adventure if the honest backing of the League had been given them. The responsibility for their failure to do so rests with the "official" foreign foes of Mussolini, who were in reality his secret supporters. This strange phenomenon has not yet quite disappeared. For that reason the United Nations may, with regard to Italy, face new disillusionment, further loss of prestige and precious time.

THEODOR DAN

Russian Socialist leader, formerly a member of the Executive Committee of the Second International

MY FRIEND del Vayo is right: the destiny of the future peace depends upon the social forces that shape that peace.

Peace will not last if, after the present war, human society is again ruled by social forces that place the preservation of property and profit over the interests of men, and the principle of competition among individuals, groups, classes, races, and nations over the principle of human solidarity. Under such conditions it would be impossible to find forms of organization that would enable diplomacy, the new League of Nations, and the police force at its disposal to act as agents of peace and freedom.

The present war has tied with unbreakable bonds the countries of the world, and it has revealed so clearly the connection between their form of government and the menace of war that talk about "non-intervention" cannot be taken in earnest. As a matter of fact, "non-intervention" has always been a delusive phrase. The only thing that has mattered is the question how and for what purpose to "intervene." Brute force is not always needed for this; the German and Austrian Socialist revolutions of 1918-19 were not strangled by military intervention but by economic pressure. With them the new-born democracy was strangled, too; the way for Hitler was paved; and war became inevitable.

Fascism in all its varieties cannot be uprooted from European soil without a European revolution, and today even more than in 1918-19 this revolution can be only a Socialist revolution. Will this European revolution be smothered by military force or economic pressure, or will the tremendous military and economic resources of the victors help it? Not the academic question of the "right of intervention in internal affairs" but the how and the purpose of intervention, a question vital for freedom and peace, will become pressing as the military collapse of Hitler draws nearer. The way this problem is solved will decide whether the peace will inaugurate a long epoch of progress or whether we shall have only a short respite before the outbreak of World War III.

In the Wind

SEVERAL DRAFT BOARDS in Virginia and other Southern states have been classifying Indians as Negroes. After inquiries were made, the War Department was asked for a ruling not only on Indians but also on men of mixed Negro-white origin. Indians, it said, should be classified as whites. In cases where there is doubt as to whether white or Negro blood prevails, an investigation of the selectee's associates is to be made. He will then be classified in the group to which most of his friends belong.

ACCORDING TO the Socialist *Call,* one of the liberal Congressmen was prepared to introduce a bill to repeal the restrictions on Chinese immigration. He was prevailed upon to withhold it by certain State Department officials, who asserted that the Chinese government felt that it was unwise to raise the issue now in view of increasing race sentiment in this country. A short time later Ambassador Hu Shih was asked about his government's attitude toward the bill. He said that he had never heard of it.

THE LONDON *TABLET,* leading Catholic paper in Britain, approved the appointment of Professor Carlton Hays to the Madrid embassy and interpreted it as evidence that the United States was trying to please Franco. It went on to say: "Crude attempts to present the war as not primarily a struggle against the aggressive, nationalistic Germans, but as a war in which all countries are more or less divided into fascists and anti-fascists, is all too popular among American writers, but it finds no reflection in American foreign policy."

FRANCO'S PROPAGANDA BUREAU in this country, the Spanish Library of Information, has been expanding its activities. A new daily release publishes only news emphasizing Spain's ties with Britain and this country.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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BOOKS and the ARTS

How Russians Fight

RUSSIA'S FIGHTING FORCES. By Captain Sergei N. Kournakoff. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. $2.50.

RUSSIANS DON'T SURRENDER. By Alexander Poliakov. E. P. Dutton and Company. $2.50.

THE two books under review approach the subject of Russia's armies from completely different points of view. Captain Kournakoff's book is an academic history of the fighting forces of Russia, supplemented by a studious analysis of the operations of the Soviet-German campaign in 1941. Alexander Poliakov, on the other hand, gives a stirring, hour-by-hour account of the activities of a Red Army unit in action in July, 1941, as seen by a participant.

Captain Kournakoff's main thesis is that Germany lost the war in July, 1941, because of a series of blunders on the part of the German High Command and the Red Army's strength, fortitude, and equipment. The author analyzes these factors in detail. His figures on the quantity and quality of Soviet material are based on Soviet publications. They seem as accurate as any estimates I knew of in Moscow and are probably more complete than any published to date under one cover in this country.

The Captain's outline of the history of Russia's armed forces, which goes back to medieval battles against Teutonic knights, has interest for students of military history but not much excitement for the layman. His play-by-play account of the Soviet-German war, based on the daily communiqués, is enlightening to anyone who tries to follow the operations of the present war. In a number of places, however, he gives no sources for his rather glib assertions—for example, on page 210, where he writes that "allowing for all kinds of mistakes and inaccuracies there is no doubt that the Russians are inflicting at least twice as many losses in men as they suffer themselves."

Throughout his book Captain Kournakoff adheres rigidly to the "party line." He suffers, moreover, from a narrow military point of view, and his book falls somewhat short of a 100 per cent orthodox characterization of Russia's fighting forces. Certain phases of the Red Army's history and activity considered important in Moscow are not mentioned. For example, Stalin, as quoted in the *Red Star* for February 22, 1940, characterize the Red Army as ". . . the army of the world proletarian revolution, the army of the oppressed and exploited peoples of the whole world. . . ." The captain interprets the Russian armies in terms of Russia's military history and the Red Army's present leadership, equipment, and personnel. The revolutionary character of the Red Army, which Stalin emphasizes, is hardly mentioned.

Captain Kournakoff, as he himself relates, comes from an old family of Russian military men. He served in the White Army against the Bolsheviks during the civil war, and for the past twenty-one years has been a resident of the United States. Although he has unquestionably been a careful student of Soviet military publications, the fact that he has neither been in Russia nor had any direct contact with the Red Army for more than two decades limits the value of his work.

"Russians Don't Surrender" is a much more forceful book than Captain Kournakoff's, though it is hardly fair to make a comparison. The author, a correspondent for the *Red Star*, was attached to an unidentified unit, probably a division, which, passed by the advanced German army spearheads during the first days of the war, spent nearly a month—from June 27 until July 22, 1941—behind the German lines. According to all the traditions of modern war a unit thus surrounded, left dozens of miles behind the front, surrenders. Russians, however, do not surrender. The division had some munitions, a little food, and an indomitable will to destroy as many Germans as possible while behind the enemy lines, fight its way back eastward, and rejoin the main forces of the Red Army. The men suffered terrible privations. Poliakov himself, though a correspondent, took part in the fighting and was wounded three times. For three and four days running the men had no food, no water; they were shelled by enemy artillery, bombed by enemy planes.

The local peasantry, embittered by the German atrocities, gave every support to Poliakov's division. Village boys of eight and ten would go whistling up to a pool where German officers were bathing and while one or two boys cheerfully scrubbed the backs of the officers, others stole their dispatch cases from under their clothes on the bank and disappeared into the woods to give the valuable papers to the commanders of Poliakov's unit. The division not only fought its way back to the main Russian forces, but burned German supply dumps, misdirected enemy mechanized units, captured tanks, trucks, armored cars, and artillery, and destroyed whole units of the German army.

Poliakov does not mention the history or tradition of Russia's fighting forces. It is not necessary. He recounts only what he saw, and what he and his comrades did. It is an incredible story told in such a matter-of-fact manner that I frequently found myself under the impression I was reading a fairy tale. I had to thumb back over old newspapers to see that both the German and the Russian communiqués during the summer of 1941 had spoken of whole Red armies which, though left behind Hitler's mechanized units, did not surrender, but fought with what the Germans referred to as "insane Oriental bravery."

JOHN SCOTT

Mitchell on Baldwin

STRATEGY FOR VICTORY: A PROGRAM TO DEFEAT THE DICTATORS. By Hanson W. Baldwin. W. W. Norton and Company. $1.75.

FOR a nation at war the only important problem is how to win. "Strategy for Victory," by Hanson W. Baldwin, well-known military critic of the New York *Times*, is perhaps the best of several recent books on this subject. The author has the good sense to stay away from partial and easy

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answers, and he does not, like Colonel Kernan, try to fit his book to the popular mood or overlook pertinent facts which might interfere with his conclusions. Nor is he a pleader for any special type of warfare. Add to these qualifications the fact that Mr. Baldwin is probably the best-informed military critic in the United States today, and the result is a volume that is thorough, objective, well-balanced, and to the point.

The book starts with an analysis of the present military situation of the United Nations. The vital fields of the war which they must hold in order to win are defined as Britain, the Caucasus, and the Middle East in the western theater of war; and Siberia, India and China, Hawaii, and the Alaska-Aleutians line in the Pacific. To these he would doubtless add the Atlantic lifelines. He does not find the physical possession of Australia any great advantage as it is at best a distant and insufficient base for use in a campaign against Japan. However, the holding of all of these territories is essential to our ultimate victory since the Axis has already made such immense gains that any further losses might be fatal. We can win, but only if we cease repeating the mistakes that Britain made before us.

These mistakes are rather definite. Internal divisions and pressure groups may be as fatal a handicap as weak organization and lack of responsibility where responsibility is needed. Mr. Baldwin justly condemns a public-relations policy which has kept from the American people essential war facts already known to the Axis and a propaganda that has wet-nursed the public by emphasizing minor successes and glossing over serious blunders and reverses. Public relations should be based on a policy of telling all the truth possible and should be more intelligently directed. He has no sympathy with pressure groups and no excuses for the clearly avoidable blunders of our Washington bureaucracy. Nor can he detect a well-thought-out plan for concentrating our power in vital areas in the present spraying of armed strength all over the map.

The use of army, navy, and air forces for taking a genuine offensive is well described. Present army plans are entirely inadequate to give us a victory on the continent of Europe without continued Russian resistance. The torpedo and bomb have replaced the gun as the dominating weapon in naval war, but the superiority of land-based over carrier aviation does not make as much of an impression on Mr. Baldwin as it does on Major de Seversky. Mr. Baldwin does not feel, for example, that the possibility of carrier raids on Japan or a sea-air offensive through the Japanese mandates is eliminated by the presence of enemy air bases.

By their very nature, such studies as "Strategy for Victory," written as they must be several months before publication, are open to criticism. The strategic situation in the Pacific, for example, has changed in several particulars since the book went to the printer. One surprising omission is the total lack of any mention of the plan prepared by the Joint Board of the War and Navy Departments in the fall of 1941, which, as a result of a departmental leak, was published in part in the Chicago *Tribune* three days before Pearl Harbor. The authenticity of this plan has never been denied, and subsequent happenings have tended to confirm its genuineness. It should therefore receive very careful consideration in any discussion of basic war strategy. A misspelling of the name Cyprus on page 139 offers evidence of somewhat careless proofreading.

Some newspaper reporters have described Hanson Baldwin as "nerveless." It would be more accurate to say that he has strong emotions—at times he writes feelingly, almost passionately—but that they do not in the least affect his cool, realistic mind. Save for an underestimation of the Soviet Union and an inability to foresee the full weakness of Italy in the Greek campaign—in both errors he had plenty of company—his analyses and predictions have come remarkably close to the truth. The Hanson Baldwin fans, of which this reviewer is one, will not discover a great deal that is new in "Strategy for Victory." It does offer an impersonal, hard-headed approach to the problem of winning the war.

DONALD W. MITCHELL

New Deal Washington

WASHINGTON IS LIKE THAT. By W. M. Kiplinger. Harper and Brothers. $3.50.

WITH the aid of forty assistants, Mr. Kiplinger has turned out a useful and much-needed volume. In 502 highly readable pages the machinery of New Deal Washington is removed for the average citizen from a plane of suspicious theory to a level of concrete problem-and-solution. Rich in personal and chatty detail yet retaining the crispness of the Kiplinger letters, this combination guide and political handbook tells exactly how Nelson and Henderson go about the business of ordering war production, how farming has already become the most highly centralized industry in America, how each of the alphabetical agencies functions and through what kind of personnel, how lobbying has become a respectable and vital part of the American government, what Congressmen do when they're not going through the motions on the floor, how Supreme Court decisions are prepared, and a host of other pertinent facts ranging in scope from the raising of campaign funds to the regulation of prostitution in the capital. There is an optimistic chapter on the progress toward a fairer deal for Negroes in the federal structure and a well-intentioned, if theoretically dubious, discussion of Jews in government. Many chapters deal with Washington as a municipality and the daily lives of its citizens, and the book is generously sprinkled with thumbnail sketches (not too acute) of government, labor, farm, business, and society leaders.

Mr. Kiplinger's thesaurus is journalistic rather than ideological, but its rambling content is unified by two prime convictions, contradictory on the surface though not in fact. The first is that centralization of control over the national economy, call it state socialism or merely government planning, is here to stay and has in fact already gone a long way. Mr. Kiplinger sees the farm program, for example, as an accomplished "social revolution," furnishing "a general pattern for efforts to bring about an integration of other industries in the future." He expresses neither favor nor disfavor; he merely reports. But his reporting is hopeful, and he looks forward to "the greatest building era in history after the war." What makes him optimistic is the prospect that the economic planning of the coming new order will be a joint

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project of government and private minds. Thus along with an increasing degree of centralized control he sees a trend toward a purer democracy, to be exercised through legitimate pressure groups and private cooperators, with Congress presumably acting as an arbiter, weighing the objectives of one pressure group against another. To further this working relationship between citizen and government he counsels a greater popular intimacy with the problems of administration and a greater degree of participation in politics. "Shrinking from politics," he writes, "is really a shirking. The reason people shrink is that they regard politics as something dark and mysterious." His book is intended to resolve the mysteries, and as far as the mechanics of government go—which is far enough for one book—it fulfils that purpose admirably.

ROBERT BENDINER

Poems by Kenneth Patchen

THE DARK KINGDOM. By Kenneth Patchen. Harriss and Givens. $2.25.

HERE is proof, if proof is needed, that Mr. Patchen is a poet. But he is also a seer, and there seems to be some danger that the seer will eat up the poet. It is possible that the seer has already taken a chunk out of the poet. What is left is, however, interesting enough. There is a wealth of exciting images and sharp phrases, sometimes splendid, sometimes horrible, always violent and apocalyptic ("Three naked girls hung by their hair/From the pole of the roof," "His tail was a spool of snakes," "My skeleton boy picks roses/in the infinite river of my walking," "Like the thinking/Of a mad man in a woolen cell," "The sick who sauce their doings with God"). The world of these images is only a nightmarish refraction of our world, and it is hard to see exactly how it is related to our ordinary world. No two poets establish this relationship between the ordinary world and the world of poetry in precisely the same way, but it seems that the poet is under some obligation to indicate the nature of the process by which the world of non-poetry becomes the world of poetry. The trouble is not that Mr. Patchen disregards the obligation, but that he accepts it too impatiently and desperately. He is not content bit by bit to lead us to discover his world. Instead, he affirms his world too vehemently, too whole-heartedly. The seer cannot wait on the slow process of poetic exploration. And this means that though there is poetry in this book there are few poems with a recognizable structure.

It would be interesting to try to define the vision which the seer seems to be too impatient to define fully in poetic terms for us. Provisionally, one might surmise that Mr. Patchen is struck by the contrast between the "horror" and the "beauty" of life at the level of nature, and is led to affirm the possibility of reconciliation upon another level. But that affirmation of the seer is, at present, vague and, it seems, too easy. Perhaps the affirmation needs more of the documentation which the poet in Mr. Patchen might provide.

ROBERT PENN WARREN

[*Coming soon in* The Nation: *A review by Reinhold Niebuhr of "The Problems of Lasting Peace," by Herbert Hoover and Hugh Gibson.*]

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IN BRIEF

THE HOUR BEFORE THE DAWN. By W. Somerset Maugham. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $2.50.

The twilight hour of Mr. Maugham's professional life is dark indeed. His latest novel, written with his chin up, his tongue in his cheek, and his eye on Hollywood, lacks the old cynicism, but it lacks, too, the old craftsmanship. However, in a stock story of how the war affects the lives of a typical English county family there is a point worth comment, that Mr. Maugham has a single refugee in the book, a young Austrian girl who turns out to be a Nazi spy and betrays the family and country that gave her refuge. It seems strange to have to remind the author of "Of H-m-n B-nd-ge" that to kindle suspicion of refugees in the minds of his large audience is scarcely cricket.

GENTLE ANNIE. By MacKinlay Kantor. Coward-McCann. $2.

Want to read a Western? If you do, this is a first-rate one, with no pretensions to be anything but what it is—an exciting, two-fisted, two-gunned yarn to sell to the movies. Mr. Kantor seems to be that rarest of all creatures, a person who can appear in his shirtsleeves without needing to assure you that he has a coat in the closet. Recommended reading for a cheerful hour of escape.

THE OTHER HORSEMAN. By Philip Wylie. Farrar and Rinehart. $2.

America wasn't at war when Mr. Wylie wrote this story of an American boy who comes home from war-torn England to find his family and his entire town fiercely isolationist. When written it was propaganda, but six months after Pearl Harbor Mr. Wylie's novel reads like history; it is published in the hope that like all history it has a lesson for the present. Mr. Wylie's anger produces a well-intentioned anatomy of reaction rather than good fiction.

AND NOW TOMORROW. By Rachel Field. Macmillan. $2.50.

Rachel Field's last novel ran in *McCall's.* It is as good an example as you'll find of the talent it takes to write bad fiction for a wide public—the right blend of sentimentality and sincerity, the proper veneer of educated prose over stock situations and hollow characters. The story is made to formula: there's a heroine, of good family but diminishing means, who loves unwisely, becomes deaf, loses her fiancé to her sister, regains her hearing, and marries the doctor who cures her. It is faintly interesting that "And Now Tomorrow" includes a labor situation; the world in which we live seems to require that even the women's magazines cast an occasional sympathetic but well-bred glance at the other side of the tracks.

THE FOUNDATIONS AND THE FUTURE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. By P. H. Winfield. *DEMOCRACY: THE THREATENED FOUNDATIONS.* By Reginald Lennard. The Macmillan Company. $1.25 each.

These two recent titles in the Current Problems Series, edited by Ernest Barker, compress authoritative information and timely interpretation into small compass.

RECENTLY PUBLISHED

The Globe Playhouse: Its Design and Equipment. By John Cranford Adams. Harvard. $5.

Parity, Parity, Parity. By John D. Black. The Harvard Committee on Research in the Social Sciences. $2.

Shooting the Russian War. Written and Photographed by Margaret Bourke-White. Simon and Schuster. $2.75.

Education for Citizen Responsibilities: The Roles of Anthropology, Economics, Geography, History, Philosophy, Political Science, Psychology, Sociology. Edited by Franklin L. Burdette. Princeton. $1.50.

The Judicial Function in Federal Administrative Agencies. By Joseph P. Chamberlain, Noel T. Dowling, and Paul R. Hays. The Commonwealth Fund. $3.

Fair Is Our Land. Designed and Edited by Samuel Chamberlain. Introduction by Donald Moffat. Hastings House. $5.

The Pocket Entertainer. Compiled and with an Introduction by Shirley Cunningham. Pocket Books. 25 cents.

Assignment to Berlin. By Harry W. Flannery. Knopf. $3.

The Post-War Industrialization of China. By H. D. Fong. National Planning Association. 50 cents.

Pan American Progress. By Philip Leonard Green. Hastings House. $2.

What's in a Novel. By Helen E. Haines. Columbia. $2.75.

The Indian Problem. By Viscount Halifax. Oxford. 15 cents

Three Poets and Reality: Study of a German, an Austrian, and a Swiss Contemporary Lyricist. By Ruth J. Hofrichter. Yale. $2.

Youth in the CCC. By Kenneth Holland and Frank Ernest Hill. American Council on Education. $2.25.

Dialogue with Death. By Arthur Koestler. Macmillan. $2.

Colloquial Japanese. By William Montgomery McGovern. Dutton. $1.85.

Sonnets to Orpheus. By Rainer Maria Rilke. Norton. $2.50.

Refugees at Work. Compiled by Sophia M. Robison with a prefatory note by Eleanor Roosevelt. King's Crown Press. $1.50.

A First Russian Reader. By Anna H. Semeonoff. Dutton. $1.95.

A New Russian Grammar in Two Parts. By Anna H. Semeonoff. Dutton. $1.95.

Lincoln Among His Friends. By Rufus Rockwell Wilson. Caxton. $5.

DRAMA

WITH his variety entertainment entitled "Laugh, Town, Laugh" (Alvin Theater) Ed Wynn helps "bring back vaudeville." More sensationally, "Star and Garter" (Music Box Theater) brings back burlesque—which hasn't been dead so long but which died violently at the hands of the Lord High Executioner Moss. At $4.40 per seat burlesque is physically a good deal cleaner and brighter than it used to be but otherwise just about as dirty.

Ed Wynn's show has a number of good acts in addition to the featured performers—Jane Froman, a kind of female crooner if that is what you call them, and the Latin American dancer Carmen Amaya. It also has Wynn himself as master of ceremonies, but it is very economically produced and despite a good deal of talent somehow manages to add up to no more than a rather mild if perfectly decorous entertainment. "Star and Garter," on the other hand, is quite another matter. Michael Todd, the producer, has laid about him with a lavish hand to achieve one of the gaudiest and most generally splendiferous orgies seen here in some time. He has also employed Bobby Clark to cavort while Gypsy Rose Lee poses or struts, and my guess is that though not everybody is going to like it, the show will be a big hit. I must confess that such aphrodisiac exhibits have always seemed to me a bit in the nature of Barmecide feasts, but the girls are unusually handsome and most artfully displayed. The minimal costumes (credited to Irene Sharaff) are especially original and display a kind of satiric wit which is quite delightful. It is, however, unfortunate that Miss Sharaff didn't write the words too. The Bunny, an elaborate, skilful, and childishly naughty "production number" has a good tune and comes off very well indeed.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

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RECORDS

THE additional May records that I have been expecting from Victor have not yet arrived; but I have received Victor's June set of its abridged version of "The Barber of Seville" (Set 898, $8.93), which is offered as something more than a mere collection of some of the favorite arias and a few of the duets and other concerted numbers. The version is called a "recordramatization"—the point of the title being that what has been recorded constitutes an abridged drama which is complete and continuous as far as it goes—which, in other words, is not dramatically discontinuous at any point because of anything that is omitted at that point. "The aim was to preserve all of Rossini's great solos, duets, and other ensemble pieces, as well as several of his most delightful recitatives. In addition, the problem was . . . to make, as far as possible, only those cuts which would impair neither the continuity of text nor a sensible presentation of the action." And there is also the statement that this is a recording of the production that Charles L. Wagner sent out on tour, which offered an abridgement that one would suppose was a dramatically continuous whole.

Since the claim is made I am bound to note that we get on side 11 the amusing "Peace and joy be with you" entrance of the Count disguised as Don Alonzo, and on side 12 the consternation-producing entrance of Basilio, but not the material that leads from the first entrance to the second and that is responsible for the consternation. And side 6 begins with Basilio's "You speak very well," omitting the statement of Bartolo which Basilio is commenting on. From this I suspect that the recording cuts the Wagner abridgement further; but having noted the discontinuities because of the importance that Victor sets on dramatic continuity, I will add that this continuity is essential in an abridgement for a stage performance, but not in a series of recorded excerpts which are going to be listened to with a printed text carrying the listener from one excerpt to the next. More important than the discontinuities I have mentioned, then, are the difficulties created by the fact that side 11 begins with Bartolo's solo recitative "Ma vedi il mio destino," whereas the text for this side omits this and begins with the Count's "Peace and joy," and that the text gives all the material leading from the "peace and joy" passage to Basilio's entrance without indicating that this material is omitted on the record; and the difficulties created throughout by the way the text is arranged and inserted. What the set calls for is an alternation of (1) summary of what is omitted, to the point where something begins on the record, and (2) words that are sung, to the point where something is omitted —and all this printed in a booklet that can be held and followed easily. Instead the set gives a complete synopsis of the story first, then the isolated texts of the passages on the records, so that one is obliged to refer back to the synopsis to discover the context of a particular passage; and the sheets on which all this is printed are inserted in the album between the pockets containing the records—which would have point if what is on a sheet corresponded to what is on a record, but which is worse than pointless without this correspondence, since if one is playing the records on a machine without a record-changer one has to hold the heavy album filled with records and to keep flipping back and forth, first from the sheet with the text of the last record to the pockets of this record and the next, then back to the sheet with the text of the next record, then back to the synopsis to see where this occurs in the story, then back to the text.

These, fortunately, are defects which can easily be remedied, and which in any case affect what is less important than the music that is on the records and the way it is performed and recorded. This music is charming, amusing, at times delightful; it is conducted with appropriate lightness and sharpness by Bamboschek; some of it is well sung; and the recorded sound on a Scott 23 with either the light, wide-range Brush PL-25 pickup or the heavy, limited-range Astatic Tru-tan is very good—one difference being that Reggiani's soprano is agreeable with the Brush but cold and piercing with the Astatic, and another that the surfaces are a little gritty with the Brush and quiet with the Astatic. Reggiani's singing is in other ways—agility, accuracy, style—good; and Ramirez is an excellent Figaro. But Landi's tenor is unpleasant when he sings loud or fast or both; and in quiet passages his distortion of phrases is that of the Italian tenor at his worst (for the phrasing of the Italian tenor at his best listen to Schipa's Victor record of "Ecco ridente" and "Se il nomine"). Garney has a beautiful bass, but not the voice nor the style that can make Basilio's "Calumnia" aria effective or convincing. The others are acceptable in what they are called on to do.

Two groups are working to provide army camps, naval bases, and marine stations with records. Records for Our Fighting Men Inc. intends to collect old, unused records for sale to the record companies as scrap, and to use the proceeds for new records. Armed Forces Master Records Inc. is asking not for old scrap, but for good records—records of good music and in good condition. And inasmuch as the buyer of records nowadays has to surrender or pay for old records when he buys new ones, because the retail dealer has to obtain old ones to turn in to the manufacturer if he wants new ones, I would take scrap records to the dealer and give good records to Armed Forces Master Records Inc.

B. H. HAGGIN

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